

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

UNCLAS STATE 163922

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TAGS: OVIP (MCGLINN AND WAGNER)

SUBJECT: VISIT: COMMISSION ON ORGANIZATION OF GOVERN-
MENT FOR CONDUCT OF FOREIGN RELATIONS

FOR DAVID TOUSSAINT

1. STATE 154926 REPEATED JAKARTA. TEXT OF PAPER REQUEST-
ED REFTEL FOLLOWS BELOW:

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

IN THE ORGANIZATION OF FOREIGN POLICY FOUR PRINCIPAL
COMPONENTS PLAY A DOMINANT ROLE - THE STATE DEPT,
THE PENTAGON, THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE CONGRESS.
CLEARLY MANY OTHER AGENCIES HAVE AN IMPORTANT STAKE -
COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE, TREASURY, THE INTELLIGENCE
COMMUNITY, AND MANY OTHERS. NEVERTHELESS THE FOUR
PRINCIPAL INSTITUTIONAL ELEMENTS LARGELY GOVERN AND
PLAY THE DECISIVE PART IN THE FORMULATION OF POLICY
AND THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.
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EACH OF THESE FOUR KEY ELEMENTS BRINGS ITS OWN PER-
SPECTIVE TO THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS.

SEEN FROM THE PENTAGON, FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS AN IMPORT-

ANT ASPECT OF NATIONAL SECURITY IN WHICH THE LONG TERM

MILITARY DEFENCE OF THE US IS THE OVERRIDING CONSIDERATION. SINCE "ABSOLUTE" SECURITY CANNOT BE ACHIEVED "MAXIMUM" MILITARY DEFENCE IS THE PARAMOUNT GOAL; AND ALL OTHER CONSIDERATIONS ARE SECONDARY. STRONG AND IMPORTANT POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, SCIENTIFIC AND CULTURAL PROGRAMS IN THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS FIELD MUST BE JUDGED IN TERMS PRIMARILY OF THEIR ULTIMATE EFFECT ON MILITARY SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS. THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE, BY THE VERY NATURE OF HIS MISSION, IS UNAMBIGUOUS.

IN CONTRAST, THE VIEW OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS FROM THE STATE DEPT IS FAR FROM CLEAR. SEEN FROM THE STATE DEPT, NATIONAL SECURITY CONSIDERATIONS ARE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT COMPONENTS OF FOREIGN POLICY THINKING AND ACTION BUT BY NO MEANS THE ONLY ELEMENTS. MOREOVER NATIONAL SECURITY IS A RELATIVE MATTER: HOW MUCH NATIONAL SECURITY CAN BE ACHIEVED AT WHAT COST TO OTHER NATIONAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES.

FOR ITS OWN PART THE STATE DEPT HOLDS ITSELF RESPONSIBLE AT ONCE FOR THE FULL RANGE OF FOREIGN POLICY CONSIDERATIONS - MILITARY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC -- AND AT THE SAME TIME FOR THE MAINTENANCE OF PEACE, STABILITY AND INTERNATIONAL INTERCOURSE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. BILATERAL AND MULTINATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS ARE THE REALITIES OF LIFE WHICH EVERY NATION MUST LIVE WITH. THE PRESERVATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, AND THE COMMUNICATION AMONG NATIONS, MUST BE AN ABIDING AND ABSORBING PREOCCUPATION OF THE STATE DEPT AND ITS DIPLOMATIC REPRESENTATIVES. THUS TO KEEP RELATIONS CALM IS A PRINCIPAL GOAL OF EVERY STATE DEPT OFFICER. INNOVATION, EXPERIMENTATION, PLANNING NEW INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES, EVEN FACING HEAD-ON THE HARD ISSUES OF UNCLASSIFIED

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WHICH FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS LARGELY COMPOSED, IS HAZARDOUS AND TO BE AVOIDED, IF THE PRIMARY GOAL OF INTERNATIONAL ORDER IS TO BE PRESERVED. FOR THIS REASON EVEN THE PLANNING FUNCTION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS AND THE EFFORT TO DEVELOP NEW INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES HAS NOT ALWAYS FOUND A CONGENIAL PLACE IN THE STATE DEPT OPERATION.

STILL A DIFFERENT, AND BY NO MEANS CLEAR, PERSPECTIVE IS FOUND IN THE WHITE HOUSE. AS THE ULTIMATE EXECUTIVE DECISION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS LIES WITH THE PRESIDENT, SO THE WHITE HOUSE - THE STAFF FOR THE PRESIDENT - INESCAPABLY FINDS ITSELF IN THE ROLE OF ASSEMBLING AND RESOLVING THE DIVERGENT POSITIONS AND ATTITUDES OF THE

SEVERAL DEPARTMENTAL INTERESTS. THEORETICALLY AND LOGICALLY THE STATE DEPT SHOULD PERFORM THIS COORDINATING, THIS LEADERSHIP FUNCTION IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS, BALANCING ALL OF THE INTERESTS AND COORDINATING ALL OF THE PROGRAMS OF THE GOVERNMENT WHICH LOOK OUTWARD TOWARD THE WORLD AT LARGE. FOR THE MOST PART, EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS OTHERWISE. IN PART THE STATE DEPT HAS, OR APPEARS TO HAVE, A POLITICAL INTEREST OF ITS OWN COMPETING OR CONFLICTING AT TIMES WITH THE INTERESTS REPRESENTED BY OTHER AGENCIES AND THEREFORE COMPROMISING ITS "DETACHED" LEADERSHIP POSITION. IN PART, TOO, THE STATE DEPT, AT LEAST IN RECENT YEARS WITH THE EXTREME COMPLEXITY OF PROBLEMS AND PROGRAMS, HAS NOT BEEN ABLE TO ASSERT A STRENGTH AND BUREAUCRATIC "CLOUT" NECESSARY TO PERFORM THE ROLE.

NOR IS THE PERSPECTIVE OF THE WHITE HOUSE CONFINED TO THIS COORDINATING FUNCTION TO PREPARE FOR PRESIDENTIAL DECISION. BECAUSE THE PRESIDENT IS NOT ONLY THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE BUT THE POLITICAL LEADER OF THE NATION AS WELL, HE MUST HAVE A STAFF CAPABLE OF PRESSING OUR FOREIGN POLICY FORWARD INTO NEW DIRECTIONS, OF RELATING THE FOREIGN POLICY TO THE ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE FOR IMAGINATIVE AND NEW SUCCESSES, NOT FOR MAINTAINING OLD SYSTEMS AND OLD POLICIES. CHANGE AND INNOVATION - EVEN EXPERIMENTATION - THEREFORE, ARE INHERENT TO THE WHITE HOUSE

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VIEW OF FOREIGN POLICY, EVEN AS THEY ARE IN SOME WAYS ALIEN TO THE DEPT OF STATE.

IT IS PERHAPS SMALL WONDER THAT THE WHITE HOUSE AND THE STATE DEPT OFTEN FIND THEMSELVES AT ODDS AND THAT THE PRESIDENT BECOMES IMPATIENT WITH THE "FUDGE FACTORY." SMALL WONDER, TOO, THAT THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS TORN BETWEEN HIS CONFLICTING RESPONSIBILITIES AS A PERSONAL ADVISER TO THE PRESIDENT FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS - I.E., WITH THE PERSPECTIVE OF A MEMBER OF THE WHITE HOUSE STAFF - AND AS THE EXECUTIVE HEAD OF THE DEPT OF STATE.

THE PERSPECTIVE, EVEN THE BASIC MOTIVATION, OF THE PENTAGON, THE STATE DEPT AND THE WHITE HOUSE ARE DISCERNIBLE, IF BY NO MEANS CLEAR AND UNAMBIGUOUS, BECAUSE THEIR ROLE IN THE FOREIGN POLICY PROCESS IS IDENTIFIABLE AND PERHAPS ALSO BECAUSE THE INSTITUTIONS CAN BE PERSONALIZED IN THEIR EXECUTIVE HEADS - THE SECRETARIES OF DEFENSE AND STATE, AND THE PRESIDENT.

NOT SO THE CONGRESS. IS THE ROLE AND "MOTIVATION" OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

THE SAME AS, OR EVEN RELATED TO, THAT OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE STATE DEPT? THE FORMER ACTS THROUGH THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OF CONGRESS FOR ADVICE AND CONSENT ON TREATIES, FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION, AND FOR APPROVAL OF APPOINTMENTS; THE LATTER THROUGH THE APPROPRIATIONS AUTHORITY. AND DO EITHER OF THESE CHAIRMEN APPROACH FOREIGN POLICY PROBLEMS AS DO THE CHAIRMEN OF THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMITTEES, THE AGRICULTURE COMMITTEES, THE WAYS AND MEANS? WHAT DO THEY ALL HAVE IN COMMON, AND INDEED WITH THEIR MORE THAN 600 COLLEAGUES, WHICH CAN REVEAL NOT ONLY THE ROLE BUT THE MOTIVATING FORCES OF THE INSTITUTION - CONGRESS - IN THE FORMULATION AND CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS?

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE COUNTRY IS ONLY AS EFFECTIVE
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AS IT IS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY. THUS, AT LEAST IN THEORY, THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IS ONLY AS VIABLE AS IT IS ACCEPTABLE TO THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE. CONGRESS, THEN, IS IN THE POSITION OF A "BOARD OF DIRECTORS" BROADLY APPROVING POLICY. IT ENDORSES THE APPOINTMENT OF THE EXECUTIVES - OTHER THAN THE PRESIDENT - AND IT OVERSEES CARRYING OUT OF POLICY. BUT CONSTITUTIONALLY THAT APPROVING AND ENDORSING AND OVERSEEING POWER IS LIMITED LARGELY TO THE DECLARATION OF WAR, THE ADVISE AND CONSENT OF TREATIES, THE APPROVAL OF APPOINTMENTS, THE REGULATION OF COMMERCE WITH FOREIGN NATIONS AND THE APPROPRIATIONS OF FUNDS, WHICH AUTHORITIES ARE LARGELY IN THE HANDS OF SEPARATE GROUPS WITH DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES AND MOTIVATIONS.

TO SEEK TO DEFINE THE ROLE OF CONGRESS IN THE CONDUCT OF FOREIGN POLICY, THEREFORE, AND TO SEARCH OUT THE MOTIVATION AND PERSPECTIVE BY WHICH "THE" CONGRESS DEALS WITH THE ISSUES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, IS TO RAISE SEARCHING QUESTIONS:

-- DOES US FOREIGN POLICY NOW REFLECT THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE?

-- CAN THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE BE DETERMINED AND EFFECTIVELY BROUGHT TO BEAR ON FOREIGN POLICY OTHER THAN THROUGH THE CONGRESS?

-- WITH MODERN TECHNOLOGY AND COMMUNICATIONS, AND WITH THE VASTLY STEPPED-UP TEMPO OF CHANGE AND INTERCHANGE, CAN A FOREIGN POLICY REFLECTIVE OF THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE BE FORMULATED AND CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE TIME DEMANDS AND THE INSTITUTIONAL

LIMITATIONS OF THE SEPARATION OF LEGISLATIVE AND
EXECUTIVE POWERS?

-- IS THE CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY OVER APPROP-
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RIATIONS, APPOINTMENTS, REGULATION OF COMMERCE,
TREATIES AND THE DECLARATION OF WAR ADEQUATE TO
PERMIT THE CONGRESS TO FULFILL ITS RESPONSIBILITIES
WITH RESPECT TO PUBLIC WILL IN FOREIGN POLICY?

-- CAN THERE BE AN EFFECTIVE CONGRESSIONAL EXPRESS-
ION OF ATTITUDE OR AUTHORITY IN THE FOREIGN POLICY
FIELD GIVEN THE PRESENT ORGANIZATION OF THE LEGIS-
LATIVE BRANCH?

THE FOREGOING QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE CONGRESS AND
TO CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE RELATIONS, TAKEN WITH THE
MANY PROBLEMS WHICH ARISE WITHIN THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH,
SETS FORTH THE NATURE AND THE EXTENT OF THE ASSIGNMENT
GIVEN THE COMMISSION IN ITS INVESTIGATION OF ORGANIZA-
TION, METHODS AND POWERS OF ALL PARTS OF THE GOVERN-
MENT IN THE FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION OF US
FOREIGN POLICY.

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